

117TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# S. 5331

To reform the Federal Election Commission's enforcement processes and related provisions under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

DECEMBER 21, 2022

Ms. KLOBUCHAR introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

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## A BILL

To reform the Federal Election Commission's enforcement processes and related provisions under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-  
2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4       This Act may be cited as the "Campaign Finance  
5 Transparency Act".

6 **SEC. 2. REVISION TO ENFORCEMENT PROCESS.**

7       (a) STANDARD FOR INITIATING INVESTIGATIONS AND  
8 DETERMINING WHETHER VIOLATIONS HAVE OC-  
9 CURRED.—

1                             (1) REVISION OF STANDARDS.—Section 309(a)  
2                             of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52  
3                             U.S.C. 30109(a)) is amended by striking paragraphs  
4                             (2) and (3) and inserting the following:  
5                             “(2)(A) The general counsel, upon receiving a com-  
6                             plaint filed with the Commission under paragraph (1) or  
7                             upon the basis of information ascertained by the Commis-  
8                             sion in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory  
9                             responsibilities, shall make a determination as to whether  
10                            or not there is reason to believe that a person has com-  
11                            mitted, or is about to commit, a violation of this Act or  
12                            chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code  
13                            of 1986, and as to whether or not the Commission should  
14                            either initiate an investigation of the matter or that the  
15                            complaint should be dismissed. The general counsel shall  
16                            promptly provide notification to the Commission of such  
17                            determination and the reasons therefore, together with  
18                            any written response submitted under paragraph (1) by  
19                            the person alleged to have committed the violation. Upon  
20                            the expiration of the 30-day period which begins on the  
21                            date the general counsel provides such notification, the  
22                            general counsel’s determination shall take effect, unless  
23                            during such 30-day period the Commission, by vote of a  
24                            majority of the members of the Commission who are serv-  
25                            ing at the time, overrules the general counsel’s determina-

1 tion. If the determination by the general counsel that the  
2 Commission should investigate the matter takes effect, or  
3 if the determination by the general counsel that the com-  
4 plaint should be dismissed is overruled as provided under  
5 the previous sentence, the general counsel shall initiate an  
6 investigation of the matter on behalf of the Commission.

7       “(B) If the Commission initiates an investigation  
8 pursuant to subparagraph (A), the Commission, through  
9 the Chair, shall notify the subject of the investigation of  
10 the alleged violation. Such notification shall set forth the  
11 factual basis for such alleged violation. The Commission  
12 shall make an investigation of such alleged violation, which  
13 may include a field investigation or audit, in accordance  
14 with the provisions of this section. The general counsel  
15 shall provide notification to the Commission of any intent  
16 to issue a subpoena or conduct any other form of discovery  
17 pursuant to the investigation. Upon the expiration of the  
18 15-day period which begins on the date the general counsel  
19 provides such notification, the general counsel may issue  
20 the subpoena or conduct the discovery, unless during such  
21 15-day period the Commission, by vote of a majority of  
22 the members of the Commission who are serving at the  
23 time, prohibits the general counsel from issuing the sub-  
24 poena or conducting the discovery.

1       “(3)(A) Upon completion of an investigation under  
2 paragraph (2), the general counsel shall make a deter-  
3 mination as to whether or not there is probable cause to  
4 believe that a person has committed, or is about to com-  
5 mit, a violation of this Act or chapter 95 or chapter 96  
6 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and shall promptly  
7 submit such determination to the Commission, and shall  
8 include with the determination a brief stating the position  
9 of the general counsel on the legal and factual issues of  
10 the case.

11       “(B) At the time the general counsel submits to the  
12 Commission the determination under subparagraph (A),  
13 the general counsel shall simultaneously notify the re-  
14 spondent of such determination and the reasons therefore,  
15 shall provide the respondent with an opportunity to submit  
16 a brief within 30 days stating the position of the respond-  
17 ent on the legal and factual issues of the case and replying  
18 to the brief of the general counsel. The general counsel  
19 shall promptly submit such brief to the Commission upon  
20 receipt.

21       “(C) Upon the expiration of the 30-day period which  
22 begins on the date the general counsel submits the deter-  
23 mination to the Commission under subparagraph (A) (or,  
24 if the respondent submits a brief under subparagraph (B),  
25 upon the expiration of the 30-day period which begins on

1 the date the general counsel submits the respondent's brief  
2 to the Commission under such subparagraph), the general  
3 counsel's determination shall take effect, unless during  
4 such 30-day period the Commission, by vote of a majority  
5 of the members of the Commission who are serving at the  
6 time, overrules the general counsel's determination. If the  
7 determination by the general counsel that there is prob-  
8 able cause to believe that a person has committed, or is  
9 about to commit, a violation of this Act or chapter 95 or  
10 chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or if  
11 the determination by the general counsel that there is not  
12 probable cause that a person has committed or is about  
13 to commit such a violation is overruled as provided under  
14 the previous sentence, for purposes of this subsection, the  
15 Commission shall be deemed to have determined that there  
16 is probable cause that the person has committed or is  
17 about to commit such a violation.”.

18                   (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO  
19                   INITIAL RESPONSE TO FILING OF COMPLAINT.—Sec-  
20                   tion 309(a)(1) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)(1))  
21                   is amended—

22                   (A) in the third sentence, by striking “the  
23                   Commission” and inserting “the general coun-  
24                   sel”; and

8       (b) REVISION OF STANDARD FOR REVIEW OF DIS-  
9 MISSAL OF COMPLAINTS.—

13       “(8)(A)(i) Any party aggrieved by an order of the  
14 Commission dismissing a complaint filed by such party  
15 may file a petition with the United States District Court  
16 for the District of Columbia. Any petition under this sub-  
17 paragraph shall be filed within 60 days after the date on  
18 which the party received notice of the dismissal of the  
19 complaint.

20        “(ii) In any proceeding under this subparagraph, the  
21 court shall determine by de novo review whether the agen-  
22 cy’s dismissal of the complaint is contrary to law. In any  
23 matter in which the penalty for the alleged violation is  
24 greater than \$50,000, the court should disregard any

1 claim or defense by the Commission of prosecutorial dis-  
2 cretion as a basis for dismissing the complaint.

3       “(B)(i) Any party who has filed a complaint with the  
4 Commission and who is aggrieved by a failure of the Com-  
5 mission, within one year after the filing of the complaint,  
6 to act on such complaint, may file a petition with the  
7 United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

8       “(ii) In any proceeding under this subparagraph, the  
9 court shall determine by de novo review whether the agen-  
10 cy’s failure to act on the complaint is contrary to law.

11       “(C) In any proceeding under this paragraph the  
12 court may declare that the dismissal of the complaint or  
13 the failure to act is contrary to law, and may direct the  
14 Commission to conform with such declaration within 30  
15 days, failing which the complainant may bring, in the  
16 name of such complainant, a civil action to remedy the  
17 violation involved in the original complaint.”.

18           (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
19 by paragraph (1) shall apply—

20           (A) in the case of complaints which are  
21 dismissed by the Federal Election Commission,  
22 with respect to complaints which are dismissed  
23 on or after the date of the enactment of this  
24 Act; and

(B) in the case of complaints upon which  
the Federal Election Commission failed to act,  
with respect to complaints which were filed on  
or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

5       (c) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 180 days after  
6 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Federal Election  
7 Commission shall promulgate new regulations on the en-  
8 forcement process under section 309 of the Federal Elec-  
9 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109) to take  
10 into account the amendments made by this section.

11 SEC. 3. OFFICIAL EXERCISING THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF  
12 THE GENERAL COUNSEL.

13       Section 306(f)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign  
14 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30106(f)(1)) is amended by add-  
15 ing at the end the following new sentence: “In the event  
16 of a vacancy in the position of the general counsel, the  
17 most senior attorney employed within the Office of the  
18 General Counsel at the time the vacancy arises shall exer-  
19 cise all the responsibilities of the general counsel until the  
20 vacancy is filled.”.

1   **SEC. 4. PERMITTING APPEARANCE AT HEARINGS ON RE-**  
2                   **QUESTS FOR ADVISORY OPINIONS BY PER-**  
3                   **SONS OPPOSING THE REQUESTS.**

4       (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 308 of such Act (52  
5 U.S.C. 30108) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
6 lowing new subsection:

7       “(e) To the extent that the Commission provides an  
8 opportunity for a person requesting an advisory opinion  
9 under this section (or counsel for such person) to appear  
10 before the Commission to present testimony in support of  
11 the request, and the person (or counsel) accepts such op-  
12 portunity, the Commission shall provide a reasonable op-  
13 portunity for an interested party who submitted written  
14 comments under subsection (d) in response to the request  
15 (or counsel for such interested party) to appear before the  
16 Commission to present testimony in response to the re-  
17 quest.”.

18       (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
19 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to requests for advi-  
20 sory opinions under section 308 of the Federal Election  
21 Campaign Act of 1971 which are made on or after the  
22 date of the enactment of this Act.

23   **SEC. 5. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF ADMINISTRATIVE PEN-**  
24                   **ALTY AUTHORITY.**

25       Section 309(a)(4)(C)(v) of the Federal Election Cam-  
26 paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)(4)(C)(v)) is

1 amended by striking “, and that end on or before Decem-  
2 ber 31, 2023”.

3 **SEC. 6. RESTRICTIONS ON EX PARTE COMMUNICATIONS.**

4 Section 306(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
5 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30106(e)) is amended—

6 (1) by striking “(e) The Commission” and in-  
7 serting “(e)(1) The Commission”; and

8 (2) by adding at the end the following new  
9 paragraph:

10 “(2) Members and employees of the Commission shall  
11 be subject to limitations on ex parte communications, as  
12 provided in the regulations promulgated by the Commis-  
13 sion regarding such communications which are in effect  
14 on the date of the enactment of this paragraph.”.

15 **SEC. 7. CLARIFYING AUTHORITY OF FEC ATTORNEYS TO  
16 REPRESENT FEC IN SUPREME COURT.**

17 (a) CLARIFYING AUTHORITY.—Section 306(f)(4) of  
18 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.  
19 30106(f)(4)) is amended by striking “any action instituted  
20 under this Act, either (A) by attorneys” and inserting  
21 “any action instituted under this Act, including an action  
22 before the Supreme Court of the United States, either (A)  
23 by the general counsel of the Commission and other attor-  
24 neys”.

1       (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
2 paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to actions insti-  
3 tuted before, on, or after the date of the enactment of  
4 this Act.

5 SEC. 8. REQUIRING FORMS TO PERMIT USE OF ACCENT  
6 MARKS.

7       (a) REQUIREMENT.—Section 311(a)(1) of the Fed-  
8 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.  
9 30111(a)(1)) is amended by striking the semicolon at the  
10 end and inserting the following: “, and shall ensure that  
11 all such forms (including forms in an electronic format)  
12 permit the person using the form to include an accent  
13 mark as part of the person’s identification;”.

14 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
15 subsection (a) shall take effect upon the expiration of the  
16 90-day period which begins on the date of the enactment  
17 of this Act.

18 SEC. 9. EXTENSION OF THE STATUTES OF LIMITATIONS  
19 FOR OFFENSES UNDER THE FEDERAL ELEC-  
20 TION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971.

(a) CIVIL OFFENSES.—Section 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)) is amended by inserting after paragraph (9) the following new paragraph:

1       “(10) No person shall be subject to a civil penalty  
2 under this subsection with respect to a violation of this  
3 Act unless a complaint is filed with the Commission with  
4 respect to the violation under paragraph (1), or the Com-  
5 mission responds to information with respect to the viola-  
6 tion which is ascertained in the normal course of carrying  
7 out its supervisory responsibilities under paragraph (2),  
8 not later than 10 years after the date on which the viola-  
9 tion occurred.”.

10       (b) CRIMINAL OFFENSES.—Section 406(a) of such  
11 Act (52 U.S.C. 30145(a)) is amended by striking “5  
12 years” and inserting “10 years”.

13       (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
14 this section shall apply with respect to violations occurring  
15 on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

16 **SEC. 10. EFFECTIVE DATE; TRANSITION.**

17       (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided, this  
18 Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take ef-  
19 feet and apply on the date of the enactment of this Act,  
20 without regard to whether or not the Federal Election  
21 Commission has promulgated regulations to carry out this  
22 Act and the amendments made by this Act.

23       (b) TRANSITION.—

24           (1) NO EFFECT ON EXISTING CASES OR PRO-  
25 CEEDINGS.—Nothing in this Act or in any amend-

1       ment made by this Act shall affect any of the powers  
2       exercised by the Federal Election Commission prior  
3       to the date of the enactment of this Act, including  
4       any investigation initiated by the Commission prior  
5       to such date or any proceeding (including any en-  
6       forcement action) pending as of such date.

7                     (2) TREATMENT OF CERTAIN COMPLAINTS.—If,  
8       as of the date of the enactment of this Act, the gen-  
9       eral counsel of the Federal Election Commission has  
10      not made any recommendation to the Commission  
11      under section 309(a) of the Federal Election Cam-  
12      paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109) with respect  
13      to a complaint filed prior to the date of the enact-  
14      ment of this Act, this Act and the amendments  
15      made by this Act shall apply with respect to the  
16      complaint in the same manner as this Act and the  
17      amendments made by this Act apply with respect to  
18      a complaint filed on or after the date of the enact-  
19      ment of this Act.

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